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TRAINING IN ITALY.

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ITALY AND AMERICA, WHICH HAVE SIMILAR PATTERNS OF URBAN IMMIGRATION, FACE THE CHALLENGES OF EFFICIENTLY MAKING UNTRAINED MANPOWER INDUSTRIALLY PRODUCTIVE AND REDUCING POVERTY. THUS, THE UNITED STATES MIGHT WELL HEED ITALY'S RESPONSE TO THAT CHALLENGE BY ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL SYSTEN OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOLS WHICH, THROUGH CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN MAJOR INDUSTRIES AND THE SCHOOLS, GEARS ITSELF TO PROVIDING ACTUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES. IN THIS SYSTEM, AT ABOUT THE EIGHTH GRADE, STUDENTS IN ITALIAN SCHOOLS ARE CAREFULLY ADVISED BY PROFESSIONALLY TRAINED VOCATIONAL COUNSELORS AND SUBSEQUENTLY PLACED IN CENTERS WHERE THEY ARE TAUGHT SKILLS FOR JOBS WHICH WILL BE AVAILABLE TO THEM. HENCE, THEY ARE VIRTUALLY GUARANTEED GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT. THE EMPHASIS IN THIS TRAINING PROGRAM IS ON TEACHING THE STUDENT SPECIFIC SKILLS RATHER THAN ON COMPENSATING FOR HIS CULTURAL BACKGROUND. IF THE UNITED STATES WERE TO FOLLOW ITALY'S EXAMPLE IN ALLOWING PRIVATE INDUSTRY TO PARTICIPATE MORE IN SUCH TRAINING PROGRAMS, CRUCIAL NEEDS OF THE WORKER, AND ALSO THE MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS OF AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, MIGHT BE MORE EFFECTIVELY MET. AND, SINCE FULL NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT WOULD INCREASE CONSUMER CONSUMPTION AND DEMAND, POVERTY MIGHT BE SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED. THIS PAPER WAS PRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE ON TRAINING THE NONPROFESSIONAL (WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 15-16, 1967). (LB)

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Ruth Benjamin

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I. Introduction

All Western industrial countries are conducting vocational training and retraining programs but not all countries use them as vehicles to bring the unacculturated into efficient production or as a means to reduce poverty. Italy and the U.S., to a larger degree than the others, face in common, an added challenge: to integrate into industrial society persons who have never been wage-earners. Both countries have significant communities of non-employed and underemployed in spite of high levels of employment.

In Italy, even more than in the U.S., poverty is regionally concentrated. In both countries the populations in the South have the higher incidence of poverty, and both countries are experiencing a sizeable movement from the rural South to the urban North. In the U.S. the migration of the poor has too often been merely a change of residence and not of living conditions, as poverty has left the South only to settle in Northern ghettos. There is no hard-core poverty in Italian cities; Italy appears to have been more effective at integrating its in-migrants.

The grand strategy of the two countries is the same: the potential productivity of the individual is to be increased through training. In Italy the pivot is vocational training. As an anti-poverty weapon, it has been more effective in Italy than here. I believe that certain aspects of the Italian system suggest ways in which the effectiveness of our training programs might be increased. It would neither be possible to describe the Italian vocational-training system fairly in brief, nor particularly useful to describe it in detail.

Nor is this to be an evaluation of Italy's programs. Rather, I'm going to concentrate on those aspects--strengths--of Italy's system which point up some deficiencies in our own.

The fundamental difference in the orientation of the vocational-education programs of the two countries is that the Italians tend to disregard the characteristics of the trainees and emphasize what skills the market demands, whereas the Americans more generally argue from who the youngsters are to what they should be trained for. This is in spite of the fact that it's in this country that there's so much talk about the need to train the poor to meet the needs of industry. Although Italy's vocational education seems effective as a means of poverty reduction, it is pursued not as an anti-poverty measure but as an adjunct of labor-market policy.

There are significant differences between Italy and the U.S. in patterns of demography and labor demand, determining different economic environments for the systems. For one thing, during the last fifteen years, employment - particularly in manufacturing - has been expanding much faster in Italy than in the U.S. Second, the labor force is expanding and will continue to expand faster in the U.S. than in Italy. Because of these differences, the problem of job-preparation is less severe for Italy than for the U.S., but this does not determine the countries' basic strategies or lessen the need that each country has to enrich its human-resource base.

Essentially, Italy's strategy is to take youngsters physically from cultures of poverty by bringing them North, and to train them so that their own productivity will keep them out of poverty. Of all the Western European nations, Italy has the largest program for the training of youthful unemployed workers. Nonetheless, there are severe quantitative limits on Italy's

programs. Existing facilities are by no means sufficient to train all persons who would benefit from vocational training. There must be priori ties: While programs are available so that workers of any age are enabled to receive instruction to adjust themselves better or become more specialized, or to enter a new trade, Italy's emphasis is undeniably on youth -- the programs enroll ten teenagers for every person 20+. This is true although Italy does not have a relatively large proportion of teenagers at the present time.

Vocational training is made available to <u>all</u> youngsters who are interested: there is no particular program outreach geared to the poor. Formal encouragement to youngsters to enter vocational education programs comes through the elementary school and from no other arms of government. The need of programs geared to the poverty populations is less urgent an issue in Italy because of the wider coverage of Italy's income maintenance programs. On the other hand, those youngsters who do receive vocational training are virtually certain of employment and earnings sufficient to enable them to take part in Italy's prosperity.

II. Italy's System of Vocational Education

To a far greater extent in Italy than in the United States, formal programs of vocational training are the means by which persons prepare for their future employment. Yet as recently as fifteen years ago, vocational education was virtually non-existent in Italy. The rapid expansion of the nation's industry, beginning about 1952, gave rise to a need for great numbers of workers with at least fundamental industrial skills. As labor is a derived demand, I suppose we might call vocational training the second derivative. Educational programs had to be developed rapidly.

The trainees. Elementary schools in Italy consist of five grades in which the same subjects are taught to everyone; after that, education branches out into several paths with different curricula. Youngsters who do not intend to continue their education beyond the constitutionally compulsory (but rarely enforced) eight years may go from elementary school to three-year trade schools, which combine a continuation of basic academic subjects with "workshops" in the general techniques of industrial or (in the South) of agricultural production.

At the secondary-school level (that is, starting with the ninth grade), enrollment is slightly over one million students. This accounts for about one-fifth of the Italians aged 14-19. The rate of increase in school-enrollment in this age-group has been extremely rapid in recent years--over the 1951-1961 decade the increase was 80%--and the increase is almost entirely accounted for by the development of technical and vocational education to meet the requirements of economic growth.[2] The only alternative to a

"vocational" education for youngsters who attend secondary school in Italy is the liceo, which still provides only classical and scientific university-preparatory curricula.*

At the turning-points in school careers, especially the eighth grade, classes are visited by vocational guidance counselors. These professionally-trained individuals represent local guidance centers which may be operated on behalf of the Ministry of Labor or by a quasi-public or a private group such as a University or a religious order. The counselors seeks to impress students with the need for care in choosing an occupation, and explain how the vocational guidance centers can help in this choice.

In these sessions too group aptitude and personality tests are given. The school authorities have earlier prepared a file for each student containing summaries of the interviews held individually with students' families about their desires and expectations for the youngster and comments on the student's socio-economic background as well as his academic record. Evaluating these data, the counselor gives to each student, orally, in the presence of his family, advice about the field of study for which he is best suited or the occupation which best corresponds to his aptitudes and character, having due regard to employment conditions.** Whether or not the advice is taken is up to the youngster and his family.

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*Italian education has expanded considerably, overall, since 1950. While the size of the age-cohort remained roughly constant, secondary-level enrollment more than doubled in the 11-year period 1951-52 to 1962-63. Yet there was no rise in the number of University graduates. The proportion of licei students to all secondary-level students has been declining gradually, from about 35% in 1951-52 to about 24% in 1962-63. [3]

**Actually, the guidance is divided into two phases. In the "general" phase, the counselor indicates the areas in which a youngster's talents lie, regardless of availability or non-availability of local facilities. In the "specific" phase, economic and other constraints upon the individual are considered; and, of the alternatives which, practically speaking, are available to the student, the counselor recommends the course of study or other action which would be best.

Of the million secondary-school students, about 200,000 attend licei and a similar number are enrolled in miscellaneous career-preparation programs such as elementary-teaching and fine-arts. The rest of the students, numbering about 600,000, are enrolled in technical and vocational institutes. Technical schools provide two-year specialization courses in agriculture, mechanics, crafts, business, home economics, and applied arts. The programs of the vocational institutes are in the same fields, but they last for three years and naturally are at a higher level. Upon finishing their courses, typically at age 17 or 18, about one-third of the trainees are employed in industry, another one-third in commerce and administration, and the remainder go into the other specializations.[4] Most vocational institutions offer programs extending an additional two years (for a total of five years of specialized study) for those who want to qualify as teachers in their fields.

The "vocational" path is followed, then, not only by youngsters who will work as, e.g., machinists, but also for persons who will enter the labor force as clerks, secretaries, technicians, and even as accountants or elementary-school teachers. As this suggests, the Italian idea of vocational education--the Italian phrase is "formazione professionale"--embraces more categories of occupations and levels of skill than does "vocational training" in the United States.

Apart from this group of 600,000 students, whose programs are(mostly) under the control of the Ministry of Education, there is an enrollment in workers' technical and vocational-training courses of 450,000 - 500,000.

About half of these workers are of secondary-school age, 14-18; nonetheless their instruction is organized as "supplementary" education and as such is not authorized by the traditional legislation for (regular) schools. Three-fourths of the enrollees in workers' courses receive preparatory and basic training, similar to that provided for (regular) students but in truncated form; the workers' courses of this type average about eight months' duration. The other workers are enrolled in "qualification" or in "specialization" courses, which generally require five or six months. Courses are given in these fields (in descending order of number of enrollees): industrial, craftsmanship, commercial, agricultural, nautical.[5] The Ministry of Labor has the major responsibility for directing the various programs of supplementary education.[6]

Administrative organization. Every course of instruction, every educational institution, is under the control of one or another of the Ministries in Rome. The Ministry of Education finances and operates the courses under its control. The Ministry of Labor provides the funds for about 75% of supplementary education, the remainder being contributed by other Ministries (especially Education and Agriculture), governmental bodies at the regional and local level, and by private organizations; and the various programs are run by private as well as public agencies. Courses operated by the central government account for only about 15% of the country's enrollment in workers' technical and vocational-training courses. Provincial and local governments account for an additional 8%.[7]

Evidently, many of Italy's institutions for formazione professionale were established by private initiative in response to the urgent demand for skilled labor. Private industry became involved to a considerable degree in the administration of training programs, though now the general practice is for business to supply the funds and to advise on programs and course-content but to turn the actual operation of the training-program over to a non-business group. Trade unions are involved in a couple of endeavors, while philanthropic "foundations" or "associations" support many more. The Church is responsible for the administration of many of these schools.

A far-reaching scheme for Southern Italy has been the organization of "training centers" involving several firms (centri interaziendali) to work to curricula drawn up by the Committee of Ministers. The centers pool the experience of neighboring firms and use teaching staff drawn from the firms themselves. In a certain sense these centers provide social overhead capital for the South: in addition to fulfilling current manpower needs they contribute to the infrastructure needed for future economic development in the South.

A large share of the formazione professionale of boys from the South takes place in Northern cities. Some schools in the North enroll only local boys or only new migrants, and some schools enroll the two groups together. Some Northern schools give more weight than others to the fact that trainees may seek employment in the other EEC countries; some schools train students especially for work in Germany.

The Italians have developed so many different arrangements, with such varied targets, programs, and ways of working, that they cannot be numbered

or catalogued. By and large, there seems to be support for Pope Pius XII's aphorism that the Italians are the world's worst organizers but the best improvisors.

It appears that the curricular disparity and administrative disorientation are not fetters upon Italy's vocational education. To the extent that low skill-levels or obsolete skills would be a prelude to city poverty, formazione professionale has been efficacious in preventing the growth of urban ghettos. Another indication of success is that German employers of Italian-trained workers have maintained a demand for increasing numbers of them, have praised the efficiency of the formazione-professionale graduates generally, and have begun to adapt the formazione-professionale system for partial replacement of their traditional on-the-job training.

There are, to be sure, coordinating principles in the system. The State does maintain control over all schools, in that, for instance, it requires certain numbers of classroom hours for academic work. In a great many cases the public authorities run courses parallel to those administered by private organizations; this helps those who write the standards to keep aware of actual problems in the schools' offices and classrooms. The involvement of private industry in training is generally welcomed; and, unlike the U.S. situation, training within industry is often formalized as part of a public program which may be subsidized through payments to employers. On the other hand, to minimize the risk of exploiting trainees, the Government requires that all courses must be given on premises other than those used for the normal activity of the firm.

Operations. The multiversity of programs makes possible fairly autonomous operations by each school administration. It is at the local level that private industry participates in the manpower-developing process. Significant is industry's role in specifying the occupations for which the students are to be trained. The decision of which jobs the students should be prepared for is generally made by the school principal upon the recommendation of business representatives. Each of the principals of the half-dozen private training institutions in Milan, for instance, considers needs for the coming two or three years in conference with the executives of Associazione Industriale Lombarda, the regional office of the organization which is the equivalent to our NAM.

The educators and administrators of the training courses have no compunctions about preparing their students for employment in a specific local firm; in fact they often see their role as precisely that.

A great deal of discussion takes place between businessman and educator concerning the qualitative as well as the quantitative requirements for workers with the various skills. There is close day-to-day contact between the schools and the industries' representatives (and, to a lesser extent, between the schools and individual firms) on such matters as buying machinery for the school's workshops, the appropriate focus for a math or drafting course, a visit to the school by a foreman for some general "shop-talk" with the boys, or the discovery or development of a more-efficient process by a student or a shop-instructor.

When the boys finish their training, they can be virtually certain of a job with a major industrial firm. No guarantee of a job is given to any youth, and no youth is committed to work for a particular firm o in a particular community after completion of his training. Yet virtualy all the youth are employed in the occupations for which they were trined, and most of them do take their first jobs with the firms associated ith their training-institution.

III. Pertinent Aspects of the System

Formazione professionale teaches values. The eagerness of Italian industry to hire teenagers who complete formazione professionale programs cannot be explained primarily by the relative scarcity of skilled labor. A worker's performance--the person's contribution to labor productivity--depends on effort as well as competence. Formazione professionale seeks to impart appropriate work-attitudes along with specific job-skills.

This is implicit in the phrase itself. "Formazione"--"formation"--denotes a shaping more general and more basic than the word "training." "Professionale," like its English cognate, comprehends both skillfulness and the open avowal of it. Consequently the phrase "formazione professionale" indicates the imbuing of trainees with competence, dignity, and pride-in-accomplishment.

Registration in the various formazione-professionale programs requires prior completion of written examinations (usually administered at applicants' previous school). The tests are of the "aptitude" type, and are used to help guide the individual trainee into appropriate courses rather than to keep any youngster from receiving training. Nonetheless, the administration of the tests before enrollment reinforces the notion that the Italian educational system requires a successful test-performance for every advancement from one level to a higher one. By this device, youngsters are led to perceive that formazione professionale is worthwhile. Those who enroll feel they have "qualified" for admission; the designation of poor kids receiving vocational

training as "losers" would seem unwarranted and ridiculous to the population in general and to the young persons themselves.

It is taken for granted in Italy that youngsters have to be taught good work habits, and no one gets upset by the fact that correlative values are infused also. These values can only be learned from experience, not (effectively) by rote; so the system includes means for making youngsters experience the importance of acting in accord with the values generally held by employers.

Fundamentally every youngster is made to perceive the direct correlation of reward with effort. Evaluations of a trainee's punctuality, persistence, and cooperativeness are as important in his school record as the judgments about his mathematical and mechanical abilities, and students are highly motivated to achieve good school records because they have seen that the most sought-after job-offers come to students with the best school-records. Implicit in the formazione-professionale operations--and sometimes made explicit to the trainees--is the willingness of the sponsor to provide opportunities for the youngsters, but only to the extent that the youngster will invest in themselves.

Probably the problem of teaching values is eased where the trainees come from varying socio-economic backgrounds, middle-class as well as poor. The poor youngster observes that the values have relevance for persons in general, and does not get the impression that these disciplines are being imposed only upon the poor or are ineffectual for the poor.

Formazione professionale is job-related. Formazione professionale provides the means, through employment, by which young persons come to share in the prosperity of Northern Italy. This is as true for trainees from the middle class as for those who come from poorer social strata. The programs of formazione professionale are basically the same for the two groups. The content of the various courses is determined entirely by the knowledge and skills a worker should have to do his job well. Because the end-process of formazione professionale is productive employment, the stress is on the skills of the graduates rather than the cultural backgrounds of the applicants. As the dichotomy of the educationalists would have it, formazione professionale teaches technology, not teenagers.

Obviously the success of the Italian approach depends on the availability of jobs. The jobs are there, and the high level of demand for skilled workers reinforces trainees' awareness of themselves as persons who are needed in the economy.

The extent to which jobs are "there" may be less a matter of fact than a matter of perception. Jobs come into being as business feels that consumers will be demanding more goods and services. If more labor is employed, its earnings will be spent and more jobs are created. The argument that there is no need for additional labor could only be valid in a static economy, an extreme case non-existent in the real world. A few years ago a training program was set up for 10,000 Italians, despite the expectation that the Italian economy would be unable to absorb them; the workers were to be employed in West Germany and Holland. By the time that their training-program was completed, Italian prosperity had accelerated labor demand and fewer than half the workers who had been expected to migrate actually did so.[8]

Formazione professionale is personalized. As is suggested by the directness of contact between employers and trainees, the formazione-professionale system is quite personalized. To the extent that industry communicates its manpower needs to nearby schools which then instruct trainees in accordance with those needs, the compiling of data on manpower-requirements would be superfluous. To the extent that new entrants to the labor force move directly from schools into jobs for which they have been specifically prepared, "screening" and "referral" activities by employment agencies would be superfluous.

In fact Italy has no private employment agencies. The government apparatus--the Ufficio del Lavoro e della Massima Occupazione (Labor and Full-employment Office) in the cities and the collocatore in smaller communities--does arrange specific job placements, but it works more broadly at job counseling, seeking to link workers and would-be workers with the economic opportunity most appropriate for them as individuals, be that an immediate job, a change of residence, or formazione professionale. This function is one that might well be performed in the United States.

To the extent that the system teaches values it also provides tact and style, or better, "garbo," the Italian name for one of those devices designed to make life decorous and agreeable...the ability to make someone comfortable while communicating to him something neutral or even distasteful...a personality-characteristic maybe best indicated by saying it's the reason that British secretaries are so much preferred by many Manhattan and Washington executives. By treating trainees with garbo and expecting them to respond in

like manner, the administrators of formazione professionale go a long way toward moulding persons who will be both proud of their work and content with their station, and pleasant to work with.

On the whole the system is free of mechanisms which might disparage or discourage the poor. Because the organization of formazione professionale is entirely separate, administratively, from the operation of welfare programs, Italy avoids the anomaly--a situation too common in the U.S.--in which efforts to provide poor people with the means to become self-sufficient are subverted by administrative concern with eligibility of poor persons to receive "relief." Governmental agencies in Italy too poke around in the personal lives of citizens but (at least in our context) in such a way as to applaud rather than discourage attempts at self-sufficiency. Within the last few years, the concept of vocational guidance has changed from one of selection to one of direction, and now it includes social services ranging as far as assistance for individuals' mental and physical health. These efforts are not confined to a single interview at the time of registration for formazione professionale but involve occasional contacts during the entire training period.[9]

The Italians don't talk about such personalization; they take it for granted. The Church was a natural for a big role in formazione professionale, because of its development of organization from the grass roots and because of its proselytizing function. For the same reasons it has been easy for trade unions to become involved in worker-education activities.

Formazione professionale is central to poverty-reduction efforts.

Ideology and the immediate demand for labor each predispose the formazione-professionale system toward effectiveness. Yet efficacy in preventing poverty among the persons who have received training is not at all the same as reducing non-employment and underemployment in cultures of poverty.

While it is not the function of formazione professionale to enable persons, poor or otherwise, to take advantage of the economic opportunity available through formazione professionale, efficient training facilities are the sine qua non of successful efforts to bring the poor into the industrial economy. Not all the poor are able to take advantage of formazione professionale; and not all who complete courses of formazione professionale come to the cities; but everyone whose migration to the city is a response to formazione professionale (the move may precede or follow the course of study) is virtually guaranteed escape from poverty.

Traditionally in Italy the geographical mobility of workers has been low and now migration is not generally being encouraged. The Government does not provide any relocation allowances (although private industry, which frequently recruits workers in the South, will occasionally pay moving expenses). All migrants to the city who are in need are of course given succor; municipal governments and the Church are particularly active in this regard. Food and dormitory accommodations are supplied to the migrants, but only for a definite time period, a few weeks at the most.

These supportive operations are viewed as necessary adjuncts to aiding the migrants' search for jobs; the sponsoring organizations devote

their major efforts to providing persons with the means of earning incomes adequate for city life. The national government finances special receiving centers for newcomers from the South in the big northern industrial centers of Milan and Turin. These operate under the auspices of the Labor and Full-employment Office, and their stated purpose is to facilitate the placement of workers arriving from the South. Yet the authorities' interest in the migrants does extend beyond their immediate ability to provide their own subsistence; the officials are aware of migration as a force in shaking a worker out of a chronic state of indifference and do not want to do anything that might be interpreted as discouraging flight from cultures of poverty. Public authorities have been acting to give specific educational help to those who have deliberately broken with the old ways of life and come into contact with the new.

Education is perceived as the most potent weapon against Italy's ethnic discrimination, which is directed against Southerners in general. The gap in school-retention rates between South and North has been sharply reduced during the past decade. Inequality of education is less a cause for economic discrimination in Italy than it is here, because in Italy basic education is more homogeneous and "supplementary" education must meet standards which prevail throughout the nation.

Like the U.S., Italy has never decided the relative values of bringing jobs to workers or workers to jobs. Although much effort has been devoted to industrializing the South, thinking in terms of a generation or so it seems the greater payoff is in bringing young persons out of the culture-

of-poverty regions. With the exception of those programs which provide agricultural or nautical training, the formazione-professionale system in toto operates under the presumption that all trainees will take jobs in the industrial cities.

The ceiling on the advancement of the Italian graduate of a formazione-professionale program is probably higher than that of the vocationally-trained American (who suffers the lack of a "higher education"), partly because descriptive upgrading of job-requirements in the U.S. has not been paralleled in Italy, where competence remains the more pertinent criterion.

IV. Implications for U.S. vocational training

If business is to hire new entrants to the labor force, these new workers must be trained in accordance with industry's needs. This principle underlies Italy's system and also the American programs which have been effective. Of all the public-school vocational-education programs in this country, that of the State of Michigan has met with particular success, and it is generally agreed that this is due to the automobile manufacturers' interpreting their manpower requirements to school people and helping translate these requirements into school programs. On the other hand, Time, Inc., willing to hire some of New York City's minority-group younsters for clerical and secretarial positions, found that the girl graduates of high schools' commercial courses possessed neither sufficient job-skills nor appropriate work-habits; it hired some of the girls anyway and sent them to Catherine Gibbs in order to enhance their Gregg and garbo.

On the whole, the participation of private industry in this country's vocational education has been negligible. Human-resource development has been largely the concern of the public sector, and business spokesmen such as David Rockefeller maintain that the government agencies seem to want that field all to themselves.[10]

The Italian Government, in contrast, has not pre-empted formazione professionale and provides incentives for its industry to participate in training policies and programs. Legislation which gives the worker in Italy more employment-security than his counterpart in the U.S. makes turn-

over relatively much more costly for the Italian employer; employers in Italy regard their workers as permanent and consequently are willing to invest in raising worker-productivity to the utmost. Further, in sharp contrast to our regressive taxation for transfers, Italy finances its comprehensive income-maintenance system by requiring business to pay high payroll taxes; therefore industry in Italy, much more than its American counterpart, pays heavily to support non-workers and benefits to the extent that persons in a culture of poverty can cease dependence on government support by becoming productive members of the labor force.

It seems to me that the major lesson from the Italian experience would be to see the value in limiting government's role to providing impetus and channels, letting the private and the "independent" sectors provide the direction for the actual programs of vocational training.

Footnotes

1
Average annual growth of labor force in Italy, 1961-1975: 0.8%. OECD, The Mediterranean Regional Project: Italy, Paris, 1965, p. 61.
Average annual growth of labor force in United States, 1960-1975: 2.1%. Calculated from data in Monthly Labor Review, 89:9 (September 1966), p. 966.

2
Mediterranean Regional Project: Italy, p. 20.

3
Centro Europeo dell'Educazione, Le Strutture Formative al 1975, Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1966, page 22, Table 10.

4
Based on data for 1962-63. Le Strutture Formative..., page 22, Table 10; and page 134.

5
Mediterranean Regional Project: Italy, p. 51, Table 18.

6
Le Strutture Formative..., pp. 38-42.

7
ibid., pages 234, 235, Tables 70, 71.

8
Margaret S. Gordon, Retraining and Labor Market Adjustment in Western Europe, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965, pp. 187-88. (U.S. Dept. of Labor, Manpower Automation Research Monograph No. 4.)

9
ibid., 62.

10
Business Week, December 17, 1966, pp. 155-56.